

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-11 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 HA-05 ARA-10 TRSE-00 OMB-01
/116 W

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R 210746Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4568
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY RABAT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 4707

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS:PEPR, MOPS, SG, CG

REF: (A) STATE 150529, (B) DAKAR 4578, (C) DAKAR 4616

SUMMARY: SENGHOR WANTS WASHINGTON TO KNOW THAT DESPITE
THE SENEGALESE PEOPLE'S ANTIPATHY TOWARD ZAIRE, AND DESPITE
DISAPPOINTMENTS WITH BOTH FRENCH SUPPORT AND FRANCOPHONE
AFRICAN PARTICIPATION, SENEGAL IS DETERMINED TO DO A PRO-
FESSIONAL JOB OF PEACE KEEPING IN SHABA. SENGHOR IS ALSO
DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CUBAN-SOVIET
IMPERIALISM ON EVERY LEVEL.
FOR EXAMPLE, HE IS NOW PROMOTING AN AFRICAN
BOYCOTT OF THE WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN HAVANA NEXT MONTH.
BUT SENEGAL IS A SMALL COUNTRY WITH A VERY SERIOUS CASH
FLOW PROBLEM DUE TO THE IMPACT OF THE 1977-78 DROUGHT.
IF WE CONSIDER IT IN OUR INTEREST FOR SENEGAL TO TAKE
THE LEAD IN ORGANIZING MODERATE AFRICAN RESISTANCE TO
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EXTERNAL INTERVENTION (DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC
AND MILITARY), IN OTHER WORDS, IN GETTING AFRICA'S OWN
ACT TOGETHER, THEN SENEGAL MERITS CONSIDERATION FOR
ADDITIONAL US MATERIAL SUPPORT. WE SHOULD LOOK INTO THE
POSSIBILITY OF MAKING SENEGAL ELEGIBLE FOR SECURITY
SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE IN VIEW OF ITS GROWING ROLE AS AN
ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN SECURITY OPERATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. PRESIDENT SENGHOR ASKED ME TO COME SEE HIM THE EVENING OF JUNE 19. I FOUND HIM TO BE IN TOP PHYSICAL AND MENTAL FORM. HE WAS BACK TO HIS OLD SELF. WHEN I SAID GOODBYE TO HIM AT ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE 10 DAYS EARLIER I THOUGHT HE WOULD NEVER MAKE IT.

2. SENGHOR SAID HE WANTED TO GO OVER THE SHABA SITUATION. HE HAD SEVERAL POINTS HE WANTED TO MAKE.

3. HE SAID HE WANTED TO MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR TO WASHINGTON THAT SENEGAL IS IN THE SHABA OPERATION FOR AS LONG AS NECESSARY, AND THAT SENEGAL IS THERE TO DO A JOB. THIS IS NOT A PR OPERATION OR ANY FORM OF TOKENISM, SENEGAL IS WILLING TO FIGHT IF NECESSARY.

4. REFERRING TO REPORTS THAT THE DECISION TO SEND SENEGALESE TROOPS TO SHABA WAS NOT GREETED WITH ENTHUSIASM IN SENEGAL, SENGHOR REPEATED WHAT HE SAID AT THE WHITE HOUSE. THE SENEGALESE PEOPLE DO NOT TAKE KINDLY TO THE IDEA OF HELPING ZAIRE. THE EXPULSION OF SENEGALESE A FEW YEARS AGO FROM ZAIRE WAS BOTH UNJUSTIFIED AND HANDLED IN THE MOST INHUMANE MANNER. THERE WAS NO WARNING AND NO COMPENSATION FOR PROPERTY LEFT BEHIND. BUT DESPITE THIS, THE SENEGALESE PEOPLE ARE STANDING BEHIND HIS DECISION BECAUSE OF THE GREATER CONFIDENTIAL

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INTEREST AFRICA HAS IN STOPPING THE EXTERNAL AGGRESSION AND NEO-COLONIALISM BEING PERPETRATED BY CUBA AS THE SOVIET SURROGATE.

5. SENGHOR SAID HE ALSO WANTED IT UNDERSTOOD THAT THE SHABA FORCE IS FULLY SUPPORTED BY THE SENEGALESE MILITARY. HE HAS HAD SEVERAL COMPLAINTS FROM SENEGALESE OFFICERS BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT SENT TO SHABA. HE SAID THE SENEGALESE ARMY IS HAPPY TO TAKE ON SUCH A FOREIGN ASSIGNMENT FOR BOTH PROFESSIONAL TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE, AND FOR PERSONAL REASONS, PROVIDED THEY RECEIVE ADEQUATE MATERIAL AND EQUIPMENT SUPPORT.

6. ON THE DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL LEVELS, SENGHOR SAID THAT SENEGAL'S ACTION IN SHABA HAS BEEN HEAVILY CRITICIZED BY THE SOVIETS AND THEIR PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS IN AFRICA LED BY ALGERIA AND LIBYA. SENGHOR SAID HE HAS BEEN WARNED THAT HE PERSONALLY IS ON THE KREMLIN-BOUMEDIENNE-CASTRO HIT LIST. BUT HE IS DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE TO STOP THIS FOREIGN RACIST ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICA, SENGHOR SAID. FOR EXAMPLE, SENEGAL IS NOW TRYING TO ORGANIZE

AN AFRICAN BOYCOTT OF THE WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL
SCHEDULED TO BE HELD IN HAVANA NEXT MONTH (SEPTEL).

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7. HAVING EXPRESSED HIS DETERMINATION TO HANG IN
THERE IN SHABA DESPITE INTERNAL GRUMBLING AND
EXTERNAL CRITICISM, SENGHOR SAID HE WANTED TO EXPRESS
SOME DISAPPOINTMENT WITH HIS FRIENDS. FIRST, HE IS
UNHAPPY WITH THE FRENCH. SENEGAL WANTS TO SEND A FULL
BATTALION TO SHABA SO THAT IT CAN DO A PROFESSIONAL
JOB OF KEEPING PEACE AND PROTECTING AGAINST AGGRESSION.
BUT THE FRENCH ARE STALLING ON THE SECOND HALF. THEY
HAVE VAGUELY PROMISED TO PROVIDE TRANSPORTATION AND
SUPPORT FOR THE SECOND GROUP OF 270 MEN, BUT NO DATE HAS BEEN SET.
SENGHOR SAID HE THINKS THE PROBLEM IS NOTHING MORE OR
LESS THAN A QUESTION OF MONEY. THE FRENCH ARE JUST
TRYING TO SAVE MONEY. THEY ARE BEING CHINTZY. (SINCE
FOREGOING WAS DRAFTED, FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAS ASSURED
ME THAT SECOND CONTINGENT OF 270 SENEGALESE MEN WILL BE
TRANSPORTED.)

8. SECONDLY, WHILE MOROCCO AND SENEGAL HAVE SENT FULLY
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PREPARED AND ABLE FIGHTING UNITS TO SHABA, IVORY COAST AND GABON HAVE SENT ONLY TOKEN FORCES. THE PARA-MEDICS SENT BY THE FORMER, AND THE BOY SCOUTS SENT BY THE LATTER INDICATE THAT THESE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE NEVER REALLY PLACED ANY EMPHASIS ON HAVING ADEQUATE DEFENSE FORCES.

9. BUT AGAIN, DESPITE THESE DISAPPOINTMENTS, SENEGAL IS DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE. WHAT SHOULD THE US BE DOING ABOUT ALL OF THIS? FIRST, THE US SHOULD LEAN ON THE FRENCH TO BE MORE SUPPORTIVE OF THE AFRICANS WHO WANT TO DO A GOOD AND COMPLETE JOB. SECONDLY, AS SENGHOR SAID IN WASHINGTON, THE US SHOULD HELP THE MODERATES MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THEIR CAPABILITY TO DEFEND AGAINST CUBAN INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFRICAN DISPUTES IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE SHORT OF DIRECT AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT. I ASSURED SENGHOR THAT HIS VIEWS WOULD BE FULLY REPORTED TO WASHINGTON.

10. COMMENT: IN EFFECT, WHAT SENGHOR IS DRIVING AT IS THAT SENEGAL'S WILLINGNESS TO USE ITS SMALL BUT EFFECTIVE ARMY IN THE DEFENSE OF FREE WORLD INTEREST IN SHABA, LEBANON AND POSSIBLY NAMIBIA LATER ON, IS A MAJOR BURDEN THAT IT CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO CARRY UNAIDED. AFTER SPEAKING TO DISINTERESTED ANALYSTS ABOUT SENEGAL'S PUBLIC FINANCE SITUATION IN THE AFTERMATH OF A VERY BAD DROUGHT YEAR, I CAN ONLY AGREE. SENEGAL'S CASH FLOW IS DOWN TO A TRICKLE AND IS FADING RAPIDLY. SENGHOR'S INDIRECT REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE WAS PREDICTED IN REFTELS.

11. DESPITE HIS EXCESSIVE RHETORIC ON THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET-CUBAN PROBLEM IN AFRICA, I BELIEVE HIS BASIC ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION ARE THE SAME
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AS OURS. IN SHORT, WHATEVER ELSE THE CUBANS MIGHT BE DOING IN COUNTRIES LIKE ANGOLA, ETHIOPIA AND EQUATORIAL GUINEA TO KEEP ADMINISTRATIONS FUNCTIONING, THE PRESENCE OF THEIR TROOPS IS A THREAT TO AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE AND A SOURCE OF CONTINUING VIOLENCE. SECONDLY, SENGHOR BELIEVES THE ANSWER TO THE CUBAN-SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE IS NOT AN AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE. THAT WOULD ONLY RESULT IN THE CREATION OF AN EAST-WEST BATTLEGROUND IN AFRICA. THE ANSWER IS FOR THE AFRICANS TO GET THEIR OWN ACT TOGETHER AND ROOT OUT THE CAUSES OF SOVIET-CUBAN INTERVENTION. WHAT SENGHOR IS SEEKING IS OUR HELP FOR SENEGAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO THAT EFFORT WHICH HE FEELS

REQUIRE SECURITY MEASURES TO SUPPLEMENT THE MORE IMPORTANT
DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MEASURES (REFTEL C).

12. THE ONLY DIFFERENCE THAT I SEE BETWEEN SENGHOR'S
AND OUR ANALYSIS IS ON THE QUESTION OF ANGOLA. AND
EVEN THERE IT IS A MATTER OF NUANCE. SENGHOR AND WE
AGREE THAT THE ANGOLA CONFLICT CANNOT BE RESOLVED
WITHOUT SAVIMBI. THE ONLY DIFFERENCE IS THAT WE FEEL
CONTINUED OUTSIDE AID TO SAVIMBI IS CAUSING THE REGION
TO BE UNSTABLE AND DANGEROUS. SENGHOR CONSIDERS OUT-
SIDE AID TO SAVIMBI TO BE ESSENTIAL IN THE STRUGGLE TO
UPHOLD SAVIMBI'S LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND TO KEEP PRESSURE
ON THE CUBANS.

13. IN CONCLUSION, MY FEELING IS THAT SENGHOR DOES HAVE
A CASE FOR MATERIAL AID. TO THE EXTENT THAT WE WANT
AFRICANS TO TAKE A HAND IN THEIR OWN PROBLEMS, AND TO
THE EXTENT THAT WE WANT TO SEE THE MODERATES BE MORE
AGGRESSIVE IN UPHOLDING THEIR OWN INTERESTS, SENEGAL
IS MAKING A MAJOR EFFORT FOR ITS SIZE AND ECONOMIC
SITUATION. IT APPEARS FROM THIS OPTIC THAT SENEGAL HAS
ASSUMED A NOT INSIGNIFICANT SECURITY BURDEN IN AFRICA;
THAT SENEGAL'S ACTIVITIES ARE HELPING US INTERESTS AS
WELL AS SENEGAL'S; AND THAT SENEGAL SHOULD THEREFORE
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BE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED AS BEING ELIGIBLE FOR SECURITY
SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE ON AN URGENT BASIS.
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